THE N. Y. POST: LIBERALISM CUM SEX BY NATHAN PERLMUTTER

THE Nation

September 17, 1955

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# BEHIND THE MOROCCAN CRISIS

*by Claude Bourdet*

# WHAT THE ANTI-PERONISTS WANT

*by Arturo Frondizi*

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The Naked Atom *Ritchie Calder*

Cold Peace, Hot Competition *Edgar Snow*

Russia As It Is—and Isn't *Mark Gayn*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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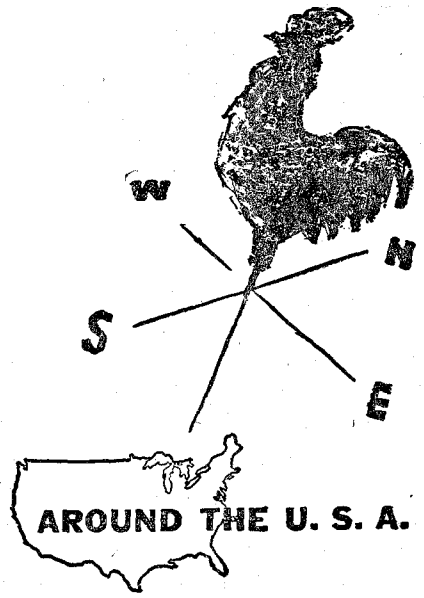


## Segregation and Politics

*Thomson, Georgia*

Members of the Georgia State Board of Education, which supervises all public elementary and secondary schools, are usually political appointees of the governor. Recently they passed a rule that any teacher of racially mixed classes would be barred for life from teaching in Georgia. Shortly thereafter, at the urging of Attorney General Eugene Cook, they announced the same penalty for any teacher who joined the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

To many people—even those without any particular knowledge of law—this seemed unconstitutional. Protests were lodged by various civic and religious groups, including many individuals not ordinarily friendly to the N. A. A. C. P. The pressure on the board increased. A few days before the opening of schools, the board rescinded its rule; Cook, apparently still advising them, announced that the regular teachers' loyalty oath would serve the same purpose. Since few local school-board members care, unless suit is brought, whether or not their colored teachers are members of the N. A. A. C. P., the controversy has apparently ended.

Among the politically wise, another reaction to Cook's action was: "He's running for governor." A political weekly published by Roy Harris, a prominent Augusta attorney who is regarded as a "kingmaker" in state politics, has speculated that Cook may be the "man of destiny" with regard to the racial problem. And the race problem has been the deciding issue in nearly every gubernatorial primary for the past twenty years.

When an attorney general deliberately advises a state board to make a ruling which seems clearly unconstitutional, it might be wise to look back over his record and search for hints as to his motivation. Cook's career provides some interesting contrasts.

A powerful speaker and an excellent lawyer, Cook was the successful solicitor of a middle Georgia judicial circuit when he was appointed by Governor Ellis Arnall to the post of state revenue commissioner during the war. When the attorney general's office became vacant in 1945, Arnall named Cook, who has held the position ever since.

In line with the general policies of the Arnall administration, Cook took legal action against the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians. In 1946 he announced that he planned to recommend to the 1947 legislature a bill to outlaw "racketeering in hatred." Under this bill persons would be barred from "associating" or organizing for the purpose of creating or spreading hatred by reason of race, color, or religion. Any person violating the provisions would "be deemed guilty of racketeering in hatred, and upon conviction shall be disfranchised and rendered incapable of holding any office of profit or trust for any determinate period not exceeding ten years."

But 1947 saw the "two-governor" squabble between M. E. Thompson and Herman Talmadge; this took everyone's attention. Cook supported Thompson and directed the court action which eventually put the latter in as governor. In June 1947 Drew Pearson, in his syndicated column, commented that Cook had dropped three criminal charges against the Klan, leaving only one non-criminal charge, and had then been quite friendly with Grand Dragon Samuel Green in the courtroom. Cook merely commented, "Let the facts speak for themselves." In November of that year he reported the theft from his office of the file on the investigations of the Klan and the Columbians.

In 1952 Cook supported Adlai Stevenson and scorned the "bolters," but attacked Stevenson's stand on tidelands oil. That same year, speaking at Sea Island, Georgia, he said, "I have no ambition ever to be governor of Georgia." He refused, in 1954, to appear before the Supreme Court to argue Georgia's case for separate-but-equal schools, giving as his reason that such an appearance would commit his state to abide by the court's decision. He announced that he planned to fight the decision with judicial and legislative means, but that there would be no open defiance of the court.

Just recently Cook has announced a list of twenty-five prominent lawyers from all over the state—including former Governor Herman Talmadge—who, he said, had been named as special deputies to assist his office on segregation cases. At first they were to serve without pay, but later Cook said, "I'm sure most of these men will not accept pay." Association with this group, certainly an influential one, would not hurt Cook's chances in a state campaign.

The next gubernatorial race is three years away. These three years will tell whether Georgia's attorney general is sincerely interested in solving the racial problem in the state schools, or whether he is primarily concerned with using this issue to advance his own political fortunes.

MALCOLM PURCELL.

[*Malcolm Purcell, a free-lance writer, is a close observer of Georgia state politics.*]

### Next Week

ATTENTION Secretary Benson! Mordecai Ezekial, noted American economist and staff member of the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization, shows how the United States can simultaneously help the American farmer and the world's hungry millions.

*

AN English-Canadian journalist writes the exciting story of the liberal Catholic revolt in Quebec against the established church hierarchy and the province's ancient conservative traditions.

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

# To the Readers of *The Nation*

## Statement by Freda Kirchwey

WITH THIS week's issue the control and direction of *The Nation* pass into new hands. The change has been made by my wish and on my initiative and I am confident that it will mean a better paper—as firm in its liberal position and as rigorous in its journalistic standards as ever before, but stabler and with more vitality.

I have resigned as Editor and Publisher and those titles have been assumed respectively by my colleague, Carey McWilliams, until now Editorial Director, and George G. Kirstein, formerly Executive Vice President of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York (HIP).

So much for the facts of the new set-up. What lies behind it deserves a little explanation, especially in view of the close relationship which has always existed between *The Nation* and its readers.

The problem of financing *The Nation*, as many readers know, has become more difficult with every year since the war. Costs have risen—in some cases doubled or tripled—and the operating deficit has expanded with them. The burden of raising funds for *The Nation's* survival has absorbed an enormous amount of effort and thought that should have gone into the paper's promotion and improvement. And with all the energy expended, chiefly under the able leadership of Lillie Shultz, director of the Nation Associates, the task could never have been accomplished had it not been for the generous support of *Nation* readers, particularly of the loyal membership of the Nation Associates. The final campaign for funds in connection with *The Nation's* 90th anniversary celebration last spring brought a response that tided the paper over a bad financial crisis. While it was not sufficient to secure the journal's future, it stabilized the immediate situation to a degree which made possible a new start—under the excellent auspices announced above.

The responsibility for *The Nation* has always been a trust. Oswald Garrison Villard regarded it as such, and so have his successors. The agreement just carried out was not so much a sale as a transfer of control designed to preserve intact *The Nation's* personality and integrity. At my request Carey McWilliams and George Kirstein have agreed to accept responsibility for its future, and have in turn requested and received my promise of continued cooperation. However, full authority over its policy and content is now in their hands.

I am happy over the change and hopeful of its results. *Nation* readers do not need to be told that Carey McWilliams has brought the paper invaluable gifts of imagination, courage, and insight. His wide political knowledge and sense of reality buttress a passion for freedom which has made *The Nation* a formidable journalistic weapon against every variety and manifestation of cold-war fanaticism. George Kirstein's interests and activities have largely centered in the related fields of labor relations and social welfare. His experience has brought him close both to the problems of management and to the trade-union movement. After handling labor relations in private business for some years he became Executive Secretary first of the National Defense Mediation Board and later of the National War Labor Board. After two years' service in the navy and a period as head of his own labor-management consulting service, he went to HIP which during his five years as Executive Vice President more than doubled its membership. He brings to *The Nation* much-needed experience in administration, together with a liberal approach to public affairs that is well expressed in his statement which follows.

My confidence in the two men who have assumed control is unqualified. In good conscience I can say to all readers: your *Nation* is the same *Nation*, but with better prospects of expansion and improvement. I ask your loyal support of the paper under its new administration.

## Statement by George G. Kirstein

THE NEW publisher of an established magazine like *The Nation* has an obligation to readers, advertisers, and the public generally to state his position regarding the future policies of the paper. *The Nation* has a proud past as a voice for liberalism in America. It has stood through nearly a century for progress and reform.

This magazine has been and will continue to be frankly partisan. Our hearts and our columns are on the side of the worker, of the minority group, of the underprivileged generally. We side with the intellectual and political non-conformist in his clear constitutional right to refuse to conform.

That America has flaws in its economic, social, and political structures few deny. If progress is to be achieved, corruption, special privilege, and misuse of

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power must be spotlighted so that an informed citizenry can make intelligent use of its ancient democratic prerogatives. Only thus will America deserve ever increasing respect internally and throughout the community of nations.

The victim of injustice can rarely raise his voice effectively because of his personal involvement. The weak, the poor, and the frightened often remain silent in dread of retaliation. But an independent periodical which is unafraid can speak for them, and their countrymen will listen and eventually act.

*The Nation* will continue to stand for progress and for reform. If progress and reform ever become synonymous with disloyalty then America will have surrendered its heritage.

*Next week Carey McWilliams will write an editorial discussing the immediate plans and future prospects of* The Nation *under its new management.*

# The Shape of Things

## Chicago Boy

The kidnap-slaying in Mississippi of Emmett Louis Till, the fourteen-year-old Negro who is alleged to have "whistled" at a white woman, is dramatic evidence of the existence of "a state of jungle fury" in the Deep South which has been mounting in intensity for nearly a year. The murder of Till was preceded by the murder of Reverend George W. Lee of Belzoni, Mississippi, last May 7, and the shooting of Lamar Smith in Lincoln County in the same state on August 13. In the wake of the Till murder, the local sheriff first "guessed" that he might get around to making an investigation once it had stopped raining and later announced that he was collecting evidence to support his theory that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People might have "planned and plotted" the murder for propaganda purposes! More recently, two suspects have been arrested and, presumably, will be brought to trial. In the meantime, the funeral services for young Till in Chicago—he had lived there—drew thousands of Negro mourners. Over 10,000 persons are said to have filed past the open pine casket in which the body of the Chicago boy could be seen—badly beaten, his teeth knocked out, one side of his face nearly unrecognizable, a small bullet hole through the temple.

The mounting violence in Mississippi is related, both in time and circumstance, to the stepped-up campaign of the White Citizens Councils against the Supreme Court's ruling that segregation in the nation's schools is unconstitutional. Formation of the councils received high sanction. On June 16, 1954, Senator James Eastland, speaking in Forest, Mississippi, called for their




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organization. The first council formally came into being in October of that year; there are now said to be 25,000 members in the state. The councils insist that they intend to accomplish their aims "through the careful application of economic pressures," but their agitation closely parallels the rise of violence in Mississippi.

In this instance, however, national attention should focus on Chicago, not Mississippi. In situations of this kind, where there has been a succession of acts of violence, a time usually comes when one additional act is enough to tip the scales. From reports of the memorial services for young Till in Chicago, it seems clear that the Negro community there is aroused as it has not been over any similar act in recent history. Without further delay, the Department of Justice should take immediate steps to safeguard the civil rights, including the voting rights, of Negro citizens in Mississippi. On this issue national opinion clearly supports the petition of the N. A. A. C. P. to the Justice Department that it act immediately to halt the reign of terror in the Deep South.

## Fewer Guns, Please

Fragmentary reports of the off-record disarmament talks in New York point to a slow but positive improvement over the previous meetings of the United Nations sub-committee. If one looked for a reason it would be enough to note what is happening at this moment in Britain. Last week Sir Anthony Eden and his full Cabinet discussed for three hours plans to keep Britain at its present level of recovery. The session was hardly over when the Prime Minister presided at a meeting of the service ministers and the chiefs of staffs. In the opinion of these experts the great progress made in the development of atomic weapons would permit a cut in overall spending for defense. A reduction of the two-year call-up period was suggested and is under study.

England cannot have a boom while continuing to spend enormous sums for armaments. Of the government's total spending for this year, amounting to £5,338,000,000, about £1,556,000,000 go to defense requirements. From the moment that a lessening of international tension became evident, the popular demand for a cut in armaments gathered almost irresistible strength. Editorially, the Beaverbrook *Daily Express* has been asking: "Why are there still 5,000 [British] troops in Korea and four divisions in Germany?" The policy of Britain should be: Reduce foreign commitments.

Together with the general desire for disarmament in the interests of peace, a worsening of the economic situation has increased the pressure for a smaller military budget. The general council of the T. U. C., which has gone out of its way to discourage industrial disputes, accuses the government of "allowing increases in profits and dividends to outstrip increases in wages." The government on its side is warning the workers of the "mortal peril" that Britain may be priced out of the world markets. But two of the most powerful labor unions—the miners and the engineers—have ignored the warning, indicating that their wage demands will be pressed. In view of all this, it is no wonder that the British representative in the United Nations Sub-committee on Disarmament should show himself so eager to see some kind of progress accomplished.

## The "Advantages" of Atlanta

Despite numerous protests, the board of directors of the American Association for the Advancement of Science has reaffirmed an earlier decision to hold this year's meeting in Atlanta. While the program sessions, exhibits, and social functions will be conducted on a non-segregated basis, delegates will confront Jim Crow restrictions in hotels, restaurants, and transportation facilities. Section H of the association—the anthropology section—has declined to offer a program at Atlanta and the decision to meet there has been protested by other affiliates, individuals, and organizations such as the Council for the Advancement of Negroes in Science.

In a statement published in *Science* for June 24, the board points out the "advantages of an Atlanta meeting." It is important that A. A. A. S. meetings should be held in every part of the country "in order to advance science and its public understanding," and since no meetings have been held in the South since 1913, it seemed desirable to meet there this year. But how would world opinion react if UNESCO, following the same logic, were to schedule a meeting in Cape Town? Assuming that the A. A. A. S. has done everything within its power to insure the availability of equal facilities at the Atlanta meeting, does its responsibility cease at that point? In a letter to the board, Dr. W. Montague Cobb of Howard University objects to "the concept that it is acceptable to subject minority citizens to discriminatory treatment provided all possible concessions have been obtained"; under this rationale the elimination of Jim Crow would go at a snail's pace.

Doubtless it made sense to schedule a meeting in the South, but whatever "advantages" Atlanta may have offered on this score are more than offset by its discriminatory practices. Could not the meeting have been held in some Southern or border community where Jim Crow restrictions are not in effect? As an organization the A. A. A. S. is free of any taint of discrimination in the achievement of its purposes, but the decision to meet in Atlanta not only places a minority of its delegates in an inconvenient and possibly humiliating position; it gives the appearance of acquiescence in Jim Crow practices. It is not a minority of delegates who have reason to object to this unfortunate decision, it is the entire community of science.

CORRECTION: An editorial in last week's issue reported growing "diffidence" in the Argentine army. Fortunately this was only a typographical error. The word intended was "dissidence." It is still growing.



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# MOROCCAN CRISIS

## French Policy Boomerangs . . . *by Claude Bourdet*

*Paris, September 12*

THE SLAUGHTER of hundreds of French settlers by Moroccan mountain tribesmen on August 20, anniversary of the *coup d' etat* which deposed the Sultan of Morocco and replaced him with a senile puppet chosen by the French and their ally, the Pasha of Marrakech, el Glaoui, revealed the instability of the Moroccan situation and the inadequacy of French policy. Things have been deteriorating for two years despite the prophecies of the pro-fascist elements among the settlers and of the French business men and politicians who support Juin, Bidault, and the semi-fascist ex-Minister of the Interior Martinaud Deplat. Not only has popular resistance been increasing even in the "safe" South but there is growing evidence that the opposition leadership has been passing from the intellectual "gallicized" captains of the nationalist parties and trade unions to cruder and more ruthless "rank-and-filers." Thus the hatred which French colonialists for years have displayed toward the old nationalist leaders—every one of whom was ready for an honorable compromise with France—now proves to have been thoroughly misplaced.

The turn of the year was marked by the attempt of the colonialists to counter Moroccan resistance and to frighten French liberalism in Morocco by what was known as "counter-terrorism," a racket organized by local gangsters and police under the patronage of the die-hards among the settlers. The gangsters murdered indiscriminately anyone in the streets dressed in Arab clothes, killed members of prominent Moroccan families supposed to be subsidizing the nationalists, and organized *coups* against Frenchmen they considered to be leaders of liberal opinion. One of their victims was

Herblock in the Washington Post

*Ola Man of the Mediterranean*

Lemaigre-Dubreil, publisher of *Maroc-Presse,* a moderate and conservative daily. But the gangsters here overreached themselves. Lemaigre was a personal friend of Premier Faure; the murder shook the Premier out of his apathy. The result was the recall of the weak Lacoste as Resident General of Morocco and his replacement by Gilbert Grandval, former High Commissioner in the Saar.

JUST as Grandval arrived on July 14 a bomb killed some Frenchmen in Casablanca, plunging the European colony into a vengeful hysteria. Infuriated colonials lynched hundreds of Moroccans in the streets while the police stood complacently by; Grandval himself was hit by missiles and cursed as a "dirty Jew" by the settlers.

The new Resident General arrested some of the "counter-terrorist" leaders, eliminated the more fanatically anti-Moslem members of his administration, and presented the government and the Nationalists with a plan calling for the elimination of the puppet Sultan, the creation of a Council of Regents, and the establishment of a representative Moroccan government. This plan had a double merit: It was acceptable to the nationalists and it saved France's face by not requiring the immediate recall of the deposed Sultan, still a prisoner in Madagascar. But Grandval warned that the plan must be agreed upon at once. "August 20," he warned, "is the outside limit." For a few days it seemed that a settlement was within reach. But then there was an about-face by some of the French ministers, particularly Foreign Minister Pinay and Minister of War Koenig, a former Gaullist. It now appears that their change of heart was in part influenced by business interests linked to the Glaoui and his elder son. As a result the Grandval plan was watered down until it had practically no meaning. On August 13 Grandval offered his resignation but Faure blackmailed him into staying. "If you go now," the Premier said, "you will be responsible for whatever happens." Grandval stayed. But the bloody events of August 20 proved his prophetic gift.

Grandval resigned immediately and was replaced by a "tough" man, General Boyer de la Tour, who was pledged to apply a "moderate" policy. This was a typical Faure maneuver: By sacrificing Grandval he believes that he will be able to apply Grandval's policies. Indeed, at this writing he was struggling to win Cabinet approval for a compromise plan which would give Morocco a degree of self-rule without sovereignty. The present Sultan would be replaced by a regency council, and the deposed Sultan, while not renouncing his claim to the throne, would not press it for the time being. The regency council would include supporters of both Moroccan factions. The deposed Sultan would be permitted to return to France from his present exile in Madagascar. Many difficulties remain. Boyer de la Tour, although he behaved decently in Tunisia recently, obeying government orders instead of sabotaging the French agreement with

*CLAUDE BOURDET, a frequent contributor to* The Nation, *is editor of* L'Observateur.



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the Tunisian nationalists, is now back among North African "old hands" who are his former colleagues. He was the initiator and organizer of the savage drive against the Zaiane tribes in 1951, in which Nazi methods were pursued and which was at least partly responsible for the massacres of August 20. There is danger that the new Resident General will take his orders from Juin and his fellow generals in Morocco rather than from Faure. Moreover the Glaoui and his French business supporters are more active than ever; millions of dollars are at stake in the form of the Southern Moroccan mines which have been one of the juiciest plums both for the Glaoui and French business interests.

Moreover, it is not certain that short of the deposed Sultan's return the Moroccan underground can be quieted. As I have suggested, the French may find out too late that their policy has already destroyed their last chance for a negotiated settlement.

BUT THE GREATEST menace to the French colonial system comes not from Morocco but from Algeria. The Ziane rebellion in Morocco, horrible as it was, was more the savage outburst of primitive tribesmen driven to despair by years of colonial oppression than an organized attempt at a *coup d'etat*. In part it resulted from the French defeat in Indo-China. Zaiane mercenaries were used in large numbers in the Vietnam war; their savagery then was perpetrated upon Vietnamese men, women, and children with the approval of the "civilized powers." These men have now resumed their ancestral ways; it is doubtful whether they can be tamed, but it is also doubtful whether except in the long run they can become capable of sustained military action.

The fierce revolt of Algerian insurgents in the Department of Constantine against French farmers and gendarmerie showed quite another level of organization. For the first time the insurgents, who control many mountainous sections of Algeria, launched a mass attack with the help of ordinary villagers who up to now had done no more than to supply food and intelligence to them. Their attack was followed by

*Deposed Sultan ben Youssef*

frightful French reprisals; the French army burned down villages and murdered women and children as it had done in 1945. Penchenier of *le Monde* bore witness to the horrors and is presently the Frenchman most hated by the French colonials in Algeria. One of my correspondents wrote: "There were certainly few if any active rebels among the people slaughtered by the French and there are reasons to believe that the rebels launched their attack in order to provoke the French army into the kind of mass reprisals which could be guaranteed to create a general feeling of hatred and revenge among the people."

In Algeria as in Morocco the "political" nationalists have been more or less displaced by more militant individuals such as the chiefs of the *Fellagas,* the Algerian insurgents. Many of these chiefs were once rank-and-file members of the established nationalist parties; some lived in France and served in the French army—many were noncommissioned officers in Algerian units. They have been modernized by 120 years of French occupation. "Today," my Algerian correspondent writes, "the *Fellagas* are as much the masters of the countryside in the Constantine region as the Vietminh were in Vietnam. As in Vietnam the French are limited to the towns and roads—and the roads only in the daytime and with military protection."

With less political courage than Grandval the Algerian Governor General Soustelle, who was sent by Faure to ease tensions, permitted French reactionaries to torpedo his reforms—and did not resign. An Algerian solution is the more difficult because a century of distorted history texts have persuaded many Frenchmen, even Leftists, that "Algeria is France." Now the French are sending the regular army—drafted men—into Algeria to fight for the colonial magnates against the insurgents. There will be trouble in France itself.

Many observers put the question this way: "Will the Americans allow us to wipe out the Algerian rebellion as we did in Madagascar in 1945? If they give us that permission we can manage it." But things have changed and it is doubtful whether the mass murder of a few hundred thousand Algerians and Moroccans could quench the will to independence of North Africa, even in the unlikely event that Tunisia would remain quiescent during the operation.

Anyway it is clear that the Americans must make up their minds with no "hand-washing" *a la* Pontius Pilate. The United States already has a certain responsibility for what is now happening. Last year the French people brought Mendes-France to power. He was ready to solve North Africa's problems. He could have done it had America not forced German rearmament down his throat—or if he had had the courage to refuse to swallow it. Mendes-France fell because millions of Frenchmen were disgusted with his submission to American pressures on the German issues. As was inevitable, the right wing succeeded him in power. If Faure is a moderate and intelligent exponent of the right wing, he has neither the will nor the power to break with the extremists, and the stupidity of French reaction on colonial issues is notorious over the world. So he will use neither total violence nor will he be able, at least in Algeria, to find a non-violent solution. Inevitably he will be replaced this winter by men of a more militant nature who—unless the Americans intervene—will create a Hitler type of terror in North Africa with American weapons, planes, and napalm bombs. This in turn could create conditions in France very close to those of civil war.

Are not North Africa and France within what the Americans consider to be their zone of security?



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# ANTI-PERONIST PROGRAM

## Freedom Comes First . . . *by Arturo Frondizi*

*The author of this article is chairman of the National Committee of the Argentine Radical Party (Union Civica Radical), which won more than 40 per cent of the popular vote in Argentina's last elections, and which today remains the most powerful of the anti-Peronist political groups. The party—conservative and democratic—is somewhat analogous to the Radical Party of France.*

*Mr. Frondizi wrote the article during the uneasy "truce" between Peron and his adversaries which lasted from shortly after June 16, the date of the abortive anti-Peron uprising, to early this month when the dictator staged a spurious offer of resignation and used the expected rejection of it to clamp down with unprecedented harshness on his opposition. The fact that Argentina today is under virtual martial law underscores Mr. Frondizi's arguments—and justifies his worst predictions.*

*Buenos Aires.*

FOLLOWING the military coup of June 16, President Peron stated that he wanted peace and the solidarity of all Argentines. It was not the first time that he assumed this conciliatory attitude. But the reply of the democratic political parties remains unchanged: There can be no pacification of the country without the restoration of liberty to the people. It was not the Argentine people who destroyed the good relations between the governors and the governed, nor was it they who sanctioned the laws and practices which ended individual liberty. A people persecuted, jailed, and exiled cannot live in peace. The government, if it were sincere and really wanted to pacify the country, could accomplish its aim in twenty-four hours by abrogating the internal war-emergency act and all other measures which annul the liberties of individual citizens, political parties, trade unions, press, and radio, and by declaring a general amnesty for the thousands of Argentines now in exile.

Only under these conditions of freedom could there be any hope for internal peace and for the political, social, and moral reconstruction of the country after ten years of totalitarian government. Insofar as the *Union Civica Radical* (the Argentine Radical Party) is concerned, we do not demand liberty merely to be in a position to force individuals into an accounting for their past. We do not seek revenge; we do not seek to punish. Our interest is in the future; our urgent desire is to contribute to the progress of our people within a framework of liberty and respect for human dignity.

Apparently the government does not believe that liberty is the prerequisite of peace. It has taken no steps to restore the full power of the Constitution, although the whole country has been demanding such measures since June 16. It continues to concede or deny freedom as a favor which comes in small doses. A political truce is decreed only to be terminated a few weeks later

The *Union Civica Radical* firmly believes there can be no real peace in Argentina until the government takes concrete measures designed to achieve the following:

1. Annulment of all emergency laws and decrees and the full restoration of the constitutional regime; amnesty for all political prisoners and the return of political exiles; freedom for political parties, the press, and radio.

2. Freedom for the labor movement which will enable workers to organize without the direct or indirect intervention of the state and to replace government-designated union leaders with those of their own free choosing.

3. Abolition of laws and decrees which limit electoral freedom and which favor the Peronist Party to the extent that it has become identified with the state. The Saenz Pena law, which established popular representation in government and regulated the electoral system before the advent of the Peron regime, must be reinstated.

4. Reformation of the judiciary, which is today a political instrument at the service of the government and the official party.

5. Rehabilitation of the public educational system, which has also become a political instrument used by the government for political proselytizing.

6. Suppression of corruption and the restoration of morality to all branches of government.

7. Annulment of the treaty with a foreign firm for the exploitation of the national oil resources. This pact is unconstitutional and detrimental to Argentine sovereignty, because it concedes an enormous area of the national territory to foreign control.

Nothing of what the U. C. R. demands—and I must add that all popular elements agree—violates the traditions and customs of the country. On the contrary, for almost a century the Argentine people have been fighting to affirm these liberties. Despite the vicissitudes of political life,

St. Louis Post-Dispatch
*Rolling Right Along*



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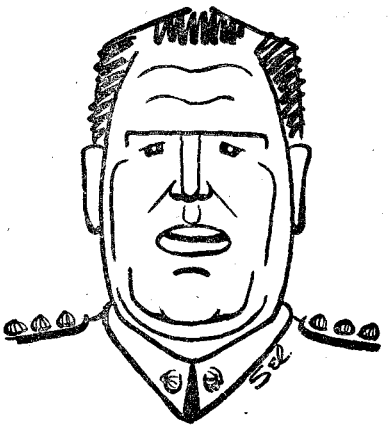
Argentines for many years lived in an atmosphere of contentment and freedom. Now we are asked to make peace at the sacrifice of our liberty, to resign ourselves to servitude. My party, and with it all the people of Argentina, prefers persecution and imprisonment to peace based on submission.

To repeat: We do not demand liberty in order to punish anyone. But neither do we demand it merely to return to the injustices of the past. Our party has a concrete program for removing the economic and social conditions which led to the present unfavorable political situation. We believe that an economic structure based on absentee land ownership, monopoly, and the infiltration of imperialist capital is an unjust one and should be altered. We urge fundamental agrarian reform, diversification of national industry, and creation of the heavy industry which alone can provide the basis for economic independence. We believe that all elements of industry, including the trades unions, should share in the formulation of



*President Peron*

economic policies and developments.

This vast program of economic and social reform requires the patriotic participation of all the Argentine people. In this connection I refer to the role that should be played by the armed forces and the labor movement. The armed forces, created and sustained by the people to defend their sovereignty and the constitution, must not intervene in politics; but they must also refrain from protecting regimes which suppress liberty or attempt to violate the national sovereignty. The trade unions, freely organized by men and women participating in the country's political life, will serve as a ferment for the national democratic renaissance and social transformation. They will participate actively in directing the economy, in defending the national resources, and in the evolution of the national institutions. United with scientists, technicians, artists, industrialists, and soldiers, they will work for the good of the country.

With the support of these groups, the political parties will be able to pull the country out of its economic and moral abyss. Argentina will again be respected by the family of nations when it abandons a zigzag policy which has placed it alternatively in the grasp of one imperialism or another. We must have an independent international policy, uniquely our own, based on peace and harmony with all countries, and aimed especially at strengthening solidarity among all the countries of our America.

# THE NAKED ATOM

## Strip Act at Geneva . . *by Ritchie Calder*

*London*

SECURITY chiefs, as they mull over the thousand papers and 3,000 pages of verbatim notes of the U. N. International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy must feel like enforcement officers at the end of Prohibition. The bottles of secrecy were certainly uncorked—or, rather, the scientists just tipped the keg and put their mouths to the bung-hole.

For one thing, "It," the great secret, apparently never existed. "It" was the basic principle of fission from which was derived not only the explosive capacity of the bomb (unmentioned at this conference on peaceful uses) but the working capacity of the nuclear reactor. For ten years, the nuclear constants were secret to the point of treason. Yet seven groups working in complete isolation (including not only the Russians, but the British, barred from American data) arrived at exactly the same results. "If we want an emblem for this conference," said Dr. D. J. Hughes of the United States, chairman of the session at which full disclosures were made, "I would suggest this curve." And he held up the plot of the findings by the separate groups showing how completely they coincided. Or, as another American said sardonically, "It's nice to know that nature is the same on both sides of the Iron Curtain."

One could feel the satisfaction, to the point of derision, which all scientists shared regardless of nationality. Here was proof of their contention that, whatever justification there might be for guarding the "gimmicks" of military technology (now supplemented, on Sir Christopher Hinton's admission, by commercial secrets), there could be no scientific secrets.

This was manifest in every session. With a magnanimous gesture the atomic powers disclosed the secrets of their various types of reactors only to find that scientists of smaller countries (like Holland) had alternative ideas which were just as ingenious. It now appears that there are 900 possible variants of reactors.

Similarly, in radiochemistry, the solution of the complex problems of chemical separation and metallurgy is not limited by national boundaries. When the McMahon Act

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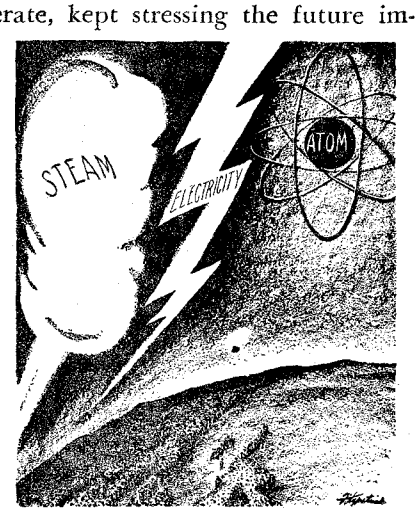
[the original United States atomic-energy act] prevented Britain from getting access to the plutonium which existed in kilograms, Dr. R. Spence of the United Kingdom took the first pinhead of plutonium from Chalk River, Ontario, and, on his microchemical findings, the huge separation plant at Windscale, Cumberland, was designed and built. Professor A. P. Vinagradov of the U. S. S. R. confessed at Geneva how he had envied the Americans their kilos when he first worked with micrograms. The Portuguese, the Indians, the Israelis, and others came forward with satisfactory radio-chemical-separation processes of their own devising.

IT WOULD, therefore, be difficult to say who gained most from the free trade in secrets—the haves or the have-nots. True, the haves put billions of dollars worth of experience into the debate; in turn they derived the stimulation of new ideas not only from each other but from the smaller countries among the seventy-three represented, whose only resources are their ingenuity. And one thing was plain—there will be no "corner" in fissionable materials. There is an abundance of uranium in the world—enough anyway for the most ambitious power programs of the next fifty years—and every country will, with the chemical initative revealed at the conference, be endeavoring to supply it from native sources.

Moreover, there is thorium, an element humbly familiar as the coating for gas-mantles. India is rich in this; so is Brazil; and Britain, with an insistence which was deliberate, kept stressing the future importance of this as a fissionable fuel. The British emphasis was so marked that American correspondents began to suspect an ulterior motive. There was: the reminder that price-rigging of uranium supplies would be futile.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch
*Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*

Beyond the many detailed disclosures of "secrets" ("secret" only because there had previously been no opportunity to compare notes) there were three major surprises. The first was the calculated indiscretion of the conference president, Professor H. J. Bhahba of India, when he referred to thermal fusion as a source of industrial energy. The second was a British announcement on "breeding," and the third was the Russian work on photosynthesis.

The "indiscretion" was indiscreet only because thermal fusion skirted an off-limits topic—the H-bomb. But Professor Bhahba was right, in surveying the possibilities, to mention the subject of nuclear industrial energy. It means demobilizing the H-bomb and putting it to work. Hitherto, this has seemed unlikely, because the fusion of hydrogen into helium requires a temperature equal to that of the heart of the sun. The only man-made method of producing such heat effectively has been in the instant of the flash of the fusion bomb. The H-bomb detonator, therefore, has been a plutonium bomb like that which destroyed Nagasaki. So it looked as though fusion could only be achieved in destructive proportions and could not be controlled like the chain reaction in fission. Bhabha indicated that it might be —within a generation. The British, when the point was pursued, admitted they had begun researches toward that end and Sir John Cockcroft publicly expressed the view (or perhaps the informed hope) that it would be achieved long before shortage of ores would make it necessary to replace fission by fusion. It is known that the Americans are also pursuing researches but Admiral Strauss, chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, postponed any discussion of it until, as he explained, he could consult his colleagues of the commission. Nevertheless it caused a flurry of speculation among the scientists in the lobbies and a flutter among the industrialists who, with lavish hospitality and public relations, were fly-casting for customers for industrial fission reactors. They had to be reassured that fusion would not threaten their markets for a long time to come. When it does come, the world will be assured of power as unlimited as the deuterium (double-hydrogen) in the seven seas.

The British announcement on breeding stock took the United States delegation by surprise. Breeding is a method being energetically pursued in both Britain and the United States. It means that a reactor produces more fission fuel than it consumes. The British are building a full-scale experimental breeder-reactor at Dounreay in Gaithness, but "Zephyr," a research model, has been working at Harwell and the announcement was that it had produced *two atoms for every one consumed.* Sir John Cockcroft admitted that this efficiency was far beyond what could be achieved in a large-scale reactor because of the loss inevitable in engineering materials, but even with a substantial discount, this makes breeding an exciting proposition—especially since the breeding can be done with thorium.

Photosynthesis is the natural process by which growing plants, through the agency of chlorophyll, capture the energy of the sun and use it to convert air, water, and minerals into the food used by man and beast If the scientists could counterfeit that, laboratories and factories could supplement farm crops enough to lay the troubled ghost of Thomas Robert Malthus and his prediction that the world's population would eventually exceed the capacity of the world's soil to support it. That, like fusion, is still far in the future but the revelations at Geneva were exciting. The substantial progress American research had made was already known but the Russians came forward with evidence which was surprising.

BOTH countries have been using radioactive "tracers"—isotopes, by-products of atomic energy, which behave chemically exactly like normal elements but which, by virtue of the rays they emit, can be traced. As a result, the scientists are gradually drawing blueprints of the living plant's chemical system. For example, Dr. Melvin Calvin of the United States displayed to the meeting what might have been a chemical engineer's drawing showing every stage of the conversion process



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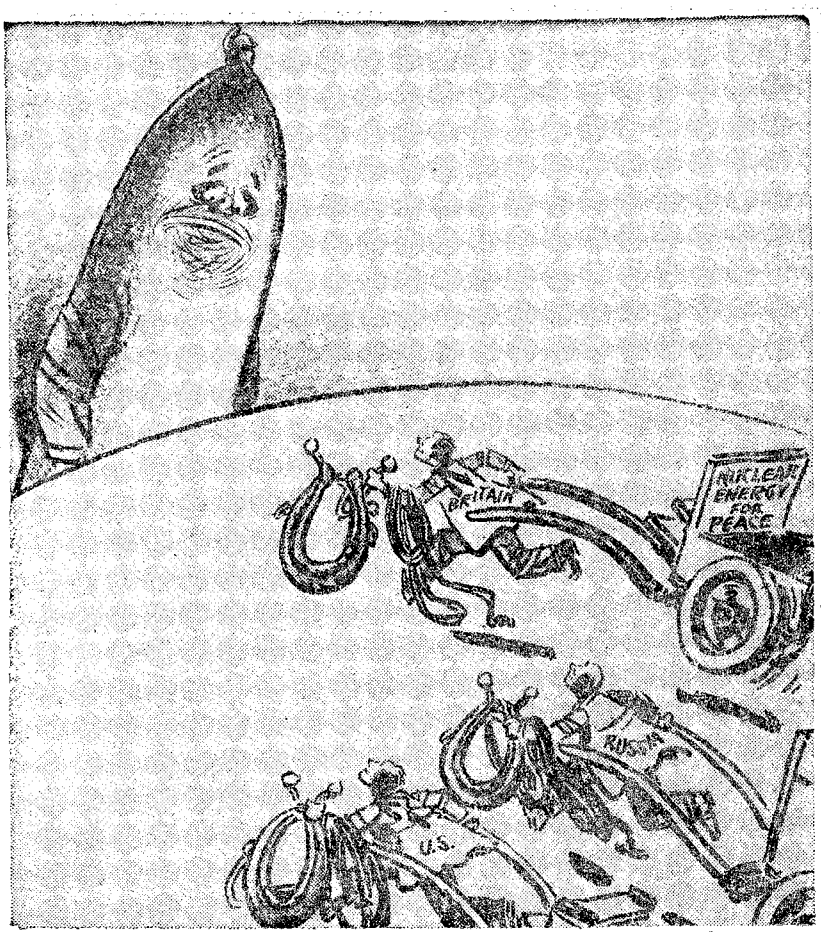


Herblock in The Washington Post

*Harness Race*

by which a living plant makes carbon dioxide from the air into sucrose—a complete "flow-sheet" of carbon reduction depicting all intermediate and enzymatic reactions. This is the first stage—the conversion into sugars and starches. But Dr. A. M. Kuzin's work in the U. S. S. R. dealt with further conversions into proteins and organic acids. He described experiments with sunflower leaves in which the light was broken up into reds and blues and the differential transformations studied. Another Russian, Dr. T. N. Godnov, has used radioactive carbon to study chlorophyll and he showed the close similarity between the way the green of plants, which traps the sunlight, resembles in its method of synthesis the formation of blood cells in animals.

This kind of work is fraught with possibilities as great in their own way as those of atomic energy itself. Indeed, as Dr. Willard Libby of the A. E. C. said: "Isotopes in themselves will justify all we have done in the development of nuclear power." In dozens of papers describing hundreds of ways in which isotopes are being used this claim was borne out. Radioactive isotopes have enabled physiologists and biochemists to study the living processes—how the bones absorb calcium; how the marrow produces blood cells; how the glands work or, as in a Russian paper by Professor Fetayeva, how hypertension arises. They have enabled doctors to treat diseases in inaccessible places, to locate tumors in the inner brain or to know how vitamin B-12 acts in pernicious anemia. They have saved industry, on the world estimate of Dr. P. C. Aebershold, director of A. E. C.'s Isotope Division, a billion dollars a year. They have put new powers into the hands of the botanists and plant-breeders.

Professor A. Gufstafsson of Sweden described how, by radiation, plant geneticists could change varieties at will—shortening plant-breeding processes from fifty years to five, borrowing characteristics of barley and giving them to wheat and vice versa. They can alter the chromosomes of grain, unchanged for 500,000 years, and reshuffle those hereditary packages to modern requirements—making plants to suit mechanical harvesters or changing their growing habits so that they can defy climatic limitations. The prospects are challenging, like the opening up of new frontiers, since crops can be designed to grow in the Arctic or in the desert.

ALL THAT was the bright promise of atomic energy but it was overcast by proper misgivings about the hazards implicit even in the peaceful uses. The journalists, the antennas of public misgivings, sensed this early. They harried the scientists at the briefings (an enlightened and enlightening innovation at a scientific conference) about the risks of radioactive wastes and the rise in the "background radiation." There was some confusion, understandably so, between "somatic" and "genetic" risks. The first refers to the organic effects on the individual of exposure to excess radiation (illustrated by reports from the United States and the U. S. S. R. of reactor mishaps in which workers were affected). The second refers to the risks to future generations if the natural radiation background (cosmic rays and radiations from certain rocks), to which living things have been exposed through eons of time, should be increased by the expansion of atomic-power uses. The geneticists were at a double disadvantage; they know very little about the human genetic effects, although experiments with insects, plants, and quick-breeding mammals are not reassuring; and they could not discuss what was really behind the journalists' questions—"wild" radiation from bombs in contrast with the limited hazards of peaceful development. The fact remains, however, that the conference came in the nick of time. Only international conventions, codes of practice, and measures of control can ensure that the hazards are kept strictly within bounds as the peaceful uses developed.

The Geneva conference was, without politics ever intruding, a political event of first magnitude. As Dr. Bhaba said at the close of this unconventional convention, "Knowledge once given cannot be taken back. In organizing the conference, the nations of the world have taken an irreversible step forward."



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# SANIN CANO

## Latin American Humanist . . *by M. P. Gonzalez*

SELDOM does our press take notice of cultural events in Latin America. During the honeymoon period in our relations with that continent, the era of the "good-neighbor policy" (1935-1945), cultural relations did improve notably; but the two events that made this policy imperative—namely the depression and the approaching Second World War—are things of the past, and so is the honeymoon.

Today we are experiencing a fantastic economic boom. Consequently what interests us is not cultural interchange but opportunities for economic investment. Hence a new formula has come to supplant the one laid down by F. D. R. in our relations with Latin America. President Eisenhower has proclaimed on several occasions the "policy of the good partner" which defines and symbolizes perfectly well the new trend in American mood and political philosophy, but augurs no good for Latin America. This emphasis on economic factors, coupled with our proclivity to support every military despot who usurps power and strangles democracy in Central and South America, is alienating the good will of the masses in those countries toward the United States.

THE MOST eminent representative of the cultural and liberal tradition to be found south of the Rio Grande at present is Baldomero Sanin Cano, the patriarchal Colombian essayist and literary critic. This venerable thinker and writer is revered throughout the Spanish-speaking world as the embodiment of liberty, individual dignity, and culture. Because he has never abdicated his ideals, and has refused to conform and submit to what is internationally called "McCarthyism," Sanin Cano has achieved the stature of a symbol.

*MANUEL PEDRO GONZALEZ is professor of Spanish-American literature at the University of California, Los Angeles.*

This admirable humanist is ninety-four years old and for over seventy years has propagated in many lands and in different languages the highest ideals of the Western world. In his sober and dignified way he has been a mentor and guiding light for three generations of intellectuals, and in his lucid maturity has become

*Sanin Cano*

a source of inspiration and a stimulus for the best spirits of Spanish America who find in him the courage and healthy idealism so lamentably lacking among many young writers.

Sanin Cano was born in Rio Negro, province of Antioquia, in 1861, and at nineteen was already director of a high school. Early in life he began to study foreign languages, of which he reads some eight or ten. He has read in the vernacular all the classic and modern writers of most European literatures. Toward the beginning of the century Sanin Cano was already one of the best informed and disciplined minds of Latin America, and perhaps the most universal in the wide scope of his intellectual curiosity and knowledge. He was the outstanding literary critic and essayist produced by the most brilliant generation of poets and writers to be found in the cultural history of Spanish America, the so-called *Modernista*.

The short essay is his favorite literary form of expression. No one in Spanish America has equalled him in the skill and flexibility with which he has employed it to discuss books, philosophical systems, and personalities, or to express his own original thinking. In hundreds of short essays, written over a period of fifty years in which ideas and style blend with subtle humor, Sanin Cano has propagated knowledge of European currents of thought and has acquainted his readers with an infinite number of books and authors—French, English, American, Italian, German, Danish—little known outside their respective countries. Unfortunately many of his essays have never been collected in book form. They remain buried in the files of newspapers and literary journals of Spanish America and England, where he lived from 1909 to 1923, and where he wrote—in English—quite a few of them.

For a time he was professor at the University of Edinburgh and a contributor to the *Modern English Review* and other British newspapers and magazines. In the field of literary criticism, nobody in Spanish America has surpassed Sanin Cano in universality of subject matter or in lucidity and depth of analysis.

ALTHOUGH Sanin Cano is above all a writer, his activities have by no means been limited to the world of letters. Early in the century he was Minister of Finance in the administration of General Reyes. Thereafter he served as Colombian Ambassador to several countries, and on more than one occasion represented his government at Pan-American conferences. For several years he was Spanish-American representative and technical adviser to the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. One of the last positions he occupied was that of rector of the university of his beloved Popayan. But no matter in what capacity he was serving, at no



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time did he cease to write or become oblivious or indifferent to the intellectual currents and achievements of Europe and the Americas.

A small point worth mentioning since this tribute is destined to appear in *The Nation:* Senor Sanin Cano is probably the oldest reader and subscriber this weekly has today. He began subscribing in 1880 and still reads it with great gusto. Like the magazine itself, Sanin Cano has not forsaken or abjured the progressive ideals of his youth with the advent of the years nor has he grown sanctimonious, timorous or Pharisaical, as is fashionable nowadays among writers everywhere. That *The Nation* held the loyalty of a man of his moral and intellectual caliber for seventy years is no small tribute to the publication.

Last December a signal honor from a distant land crowned his noble career. The distinction was not bestowed by any democratic government or institution of higher learning whose humanistic ideals he has served so loyally and for such a long time. This recognition came, of all places, from the U. S. S. R. In that month Sanin Cano was made—along with several other prominent non-Communist scientists and intellectuals—a recipient of the Stalin International Peace Prize for 1954. The award attests to his international stature, and is all the more significant because he has never been a Communist nor has he ever supported Russian domestic or foreign policies—unless a passionate desire for peace can be construed as being pro-Russian!

The selection of recipients and the geographical distribution of the Peace Prizes for 1954 is a corroboration of the marked change that has taken place in Russia since the death of Stalin. Late in December, 1953, on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the birth of Jose Marti, Latin America's most eminent political leader and thinker, Moscow took pains to commemorate the event in an elaborate ceremony that was broadcast all over Russia. Communist China also honored him, and even printed millions of postage stamps with the effigy of the Cuban patriot. Nothing of the kind was done in the United States, notwithstanding the fact that Marti's works remain the most brilliant and prolific interpretation of our culture and way of life ever written in Spanish.

Granted that neither Marti nor Sanin Cano has anything in common with the Peking and Kremlin regimes, and that all this interest in Spanish-American figures is mere propaganda; it is still intelligent and efficient propaganda. It reflects honor upon Russia and China—or any other country for that matter—to pay homage to these two figures: Marti and Sanin Cano.

# LIBERALISM CUM SEX

## The New York Post . . *by Nathan Perlmutter*

EVEN in politically well-grounded New York City a liberal stance has been economically precarious for newspapers. Indeed, within the last decade three liberal dailies have toppled—*PM,* the *Star* and the *Compass.* But as might be expected of a city the complexity of which defies stereotyping, New Yorkers do have an exception in the city's lone liberal daily: the brash, free-wheeling New York *Post.* Among three afternoon and four morning newspapers, only the *Post* supported the presidential candidacy of Adlai Stevenson, and with somewhat more vindication the gubernatorial candidacy of Governor Harriman; its publisher has characterized Senators Hubert Humphrey and Wayne Morse as "demagogic twins," in consequence of their sponsorship of the Communist Control Act; the *Post* alone heretically questions the moral and political Ascension of Chiang; long before other New York dailies noticed, the *Post* detected the *ism* in McCarthy, and long before the others cared, the *Post* diagnosed, exposed, and prescribed against it; its columns are forums for Tom Stokes, Marquis Childs, Max Lerner, and Murray Kempton. (Readers of the *Post's* afternoon competitors, Hearst's *Journal-American* and the Scripps-Howard *World-Telegram and Sun,* are favored with George Sokolsky, Westbrook Pegler, H. I. Phillips, and Robert Ruark.)

In a field in which the truth of the term "struggling liberal newspaper" has rendered it a cliche, the liberal *Post* seems fairly healthy. Its daily circulation of nearly 406,000, while still the lowest of New York's seven dailies, is steadily closing in on those of its two rivals. Indeed, the *Journal's* circulation has wavered up and down during the past few years, charting negligible net gains, and the *World-Telegram's* has fallen sharply from 541,000 to 519,000.

How does the *Post* manage to do so well?

Its editor, James Wechsler, has explained that among a newspaper's primary responsibilities—whatever its political views—is survival. Small circulation newspapers talk to themselves; the audience of dead newspapers is even smaller. Inasmuch as survival depends on mass circulation, the *Post* has costumed its political sobriety in popular frills—the kind so becomingly worn by the yellow press. Indeed, so coquetishly do its appropriately illustrated pages warble of Sex, so *really* juicy is its keyhole news, that even journeymen on the Hearst paper have been known to express reluctant admiration.

Its dexterity, some say its preeminence, in the application of forward-looking circulation techniques

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was evident on April 15. On that day Austria and the Soviet Union agreed to settle their differences, Anthony Eden announced an election for Great Britain, and New York City was engaged in its Salk vaccination program. The latter story was carried in almost one inch headlines by the *Journal,* the election story rated the same size headline from the *World-Telegram,* while the *Post* enterprisingly used two-and-a-half-inch headlines to announce:

**GODFREY**
**FIRES 9**

Such headlines and one like *ED SULLIVAN, SINATRA FEUD* have undoubtedly enticed many patrons of popular television to buying the *Post.* Numbers of these, the *Post* hopes, decided to forsake Hedda Hopper for Max Lerner. This variety of headline, however, serves only as a "loss leader," a primer of single-shot sales. Consequently, the *Post* has resourcefully adapted the "Perils of Pauline" serial system to the purpose of developing loyal followings. Its use of the "leave 'em breathless" headline system on Sex, always a reliable circulation stimulant, merits recognition.

During the period March 7 through March 24, for instance, the *Post* rescued New Yorkers from the lackluster rut of world affairs by front-paging the Pat Ward prostitution case in fifteen editions. On March 7, as the *Post* was nerving itself for fearless coverage of the trial, it introduced Miss Ward's comely photograph to headline readers with notice that *PAT IS READY.* On March 10, alerted readers, already nonplussed by the grievous news in the March 8 headline

**JOHNS**
**RUNNING**
**AWAY**

were again rocked by

**HUNT TWO**
**MISSING V-DOLLS**

(Author's note to out-of-town readers and to readers of the New York *Times:* "Johns"—males—are clients of "V-dolls"—V for vice—in an ancient form of merchandising sporadically frowned upon by New York police authorities.)

Later in the serial breathless V-doll fans, by this time presumably resolute advocates of Point Four, were transported by:

**PAT SHAKY**
**LISTING ALL**
**THE JOHNS**

**I GAVE JELKE**
**$10,000 PAT SAYS**

**YOU LIE!**
**PAT CRIES AT LAWYER**

**PAT FACES???**
**ON BIG NAMES**

**PAT'S WORST DAY**

and finally, alarmingly,

**DA FACING**
**V-DOLL REVOLT**

Of course, as a liberal organ the *Post* practices moderation. It does *not* rely on Sex as the one passageway to its editorial lair. Frequently, in fact, it supplements Sex with Crime—as in the nine-day period between February 15 and 23, when New York homicide enthusiasts were entranced by fully nine sanguinary headlines. An indeterminate number of these citizens, it is said, have since formed societies to study the menace of Dixon-Yates.

On April 26 the *Post* even more effortlessly Pied-Pipered still more readers to liberalism with moans that

**SUSAN HAYWARD**
**TRIES SUICIDE**

But on April 27, the *Post* proved to all but the prejudiced its incomparable beagle sense for news. With disarming yet bewitching candor its headline screamed:

**WHY SUSAN**
**DID IT**

Later that day, not yet at a loss for ideas, its "night extra" caused competitors to all but fold their tents. It simply declared:

**BLAME SUSAN'S**
**SECRET LOVE**

The *World-Telegram* that very same day proved its lack of imagination by permitting itself to be sucked in by the momentous but flat-chested news that *IKE, ZHUKOV SWAP LETTERS.*

Detractors of the *Post* describe its handling of news as flippant, to put it mildly. They point to its 6,500-odd column-inches of space on a given week-day and to its use of only 130 column-inches for actual news. In this regard Hearst's *Journal,* though no worse, is no better and the Scripps-Howard *Telegram* is only slightly better. (On a random day, May 13, the *World-Telegram's* column-lines of actual news was 3 per cent of total available inches; the *Post's,* 2 per cent.) Its critics argue that readers attracted to the *Post* as to a fairway featuring bosoms, bad men, and buncombe are not likely to notice Messrs. Wechsler, Lerner, Kempton, et al. While they concede the importance of the *Post's* editorials, and even that its crime stories are occasionally constructive, they deplore its pornography. They complain, as eggheads will, that even were the *Post* to develop some liberal *voters* their *Post* diet would leave them somewhat less—or shall we say somewhat more?—than liberally educated.

On the other hand, champions of the *Post* who have credited it with a "rich humor" may have merely been mistaking its character. As, for instance, in the case of the editorial which was published on May 16:

> We said it many months ago, but perhaps it requires reiteration lest there be any misunderstanding as to our position. Our contemporaries on other papers have spoken out clearly and well, and the issue is one on which no newspaper should be caught equivocating. We hope we will be believed when we say that it is not lack of courage which motivated our recent silence; it was just plain absent mindedness, or preoccupation with lesser things . . . we herewith (then) reaffirm our support for the drive to keep the city's streets clean. We are not only for clean streets. We are against dirty streets.

As the perceptive reader of the May 16 issue will readily note, the *Post* was being neither flippant nor richly humorous; it was simply being candid. For its "hope [to] be believed" that it had been preoccupied "with lesser things" was plainly confirmed in its lead story for that very day and in its accompanying front-page cry that Miss Pat Ward's testimony contained

**NAMES,**
**DATES,**
**PLACES . . .**



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# BOOKS

## Cold Peace, Hot Competition

*CHINA AND THE COLD WAR.* By Michael Lindsay. Cambridge University Press. $3.75.

*NO FLIES IN CHINA.* By George Stafford Gale. William Morrow and Company. $3.

*CHINA UNDER COMMUNISM.* By Richard L. Walker. Yale University Press. $4.50.

*AN AMERICAN POLICY IN ASIA.* By W. W. Rostow in Collaboration with Richard W. Hatch. Published Jointly by the Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley and Sons.

*POLITICAL WARFARE.* By John Scott. The John Day Company. $3.75.

**By Edgar Snow**

A DECADE of tension and fear is far from ending but international politicians are now breathing an almost forgotten ozone of optimism. Some rational conclusions in favor of peace have penetrated "summit" thinking over here and over there. Behind all recent progress toward sanity lie many factors, but none is more important than the widespread realization among ordinary friable mortals of the true and awful meaning of H-bomb warfare. Particularly since reports of the dramatic effects of atomic fall-out on the Japanese fishing boat Fortunate Dragon, more than a year ago, thoughtful people everywhere have accepted it as axiomatic that nobody could win, and literally everybody could look forward to being burned in a thermonuclear war.

That—rather than any new discovery about communism—is now the central fact of our political existence, or any existence at all. It is today enough to render absurd much of the metaphysics which gave the cold war allure, for some, as a means to a warmer end—as for example, the belief in "inevitable war," its corollary "the preventive war," or the anti-Communist "rollback." Even the principle of militarizing the status quo everywhere without any scruple except that it be anti-Communist, is no longer entirely convincing as the most practical way to defend freedom.

The grand strategy of the cold war itself—aimed at negotiated settlement only after terms could be dictated from "positions of overwhelming strength"—begins to seem a dangerous chimera. For are we not presently resigned to sober talk with the Russians as equals? In high quarters it is realized that while military power is necessary to deter Red aggression, nevertheless democracy cannot deploy it offensively to destroy communism as a competing political system and religion. At the same time the Red oligarchs comprehend that the threat of violence cannot break up a vigilant free democratic alliance—while actual armed attack could end in total extermination for Russia and its orbit.

These reflections arise after reading the new books listed above, a collection which might be grouped as a symposium entitled "1949-55: From Cold War to Competitive Coexistence." Ideological rivalry remains the common theme but now the game has limits. The goal is not victory through death to the heretic, but victory through self-survival—and the "power of positive thinking."

John Scott's book in fact is subtitled "A Guide to Competitive Coexistence" and the others supplement and complement it. None of these authors states that force can eradicate communism as an idea, nor do they explain its spread as the work of traitors or witches in the United States Department of State. The emphasis is generally on factual conditions of the present—and on "creative" measures and countermeasures for the future. We must answer the challenge of communism, they say, by devising better remedies for economic and social problems. None can guarantee that his own medicine will save the patient or extend democracy. All agree it is better to act and fail than fail to act.

Professor Rostow and Richard W. Hatch are attached to the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Their book seeks to popularize Point Four philosophy through a kind of right-field Republican application of Keynesian ideas to foreign policy. Richard L. Walker, an assistant professor at Yale, reviews five years of Communist rule in China on the basis of meticulous research and analysis of published materials and interviews with Chinese exiles. George Gale is an English journalist who visited China with the Attlee delegation. John Scott, a seasoned reporter with an exceptionally good background on Russia, demonstrates an expert knowledge of the techniques of political warfare. Michael Lindsay, son of a master of Balliol at Oxford and himself a classical scholar, whose wife is Chinese, once served as a wartime advisor to the Chinese Communists. He also revisited China with the British Labor group and served as Clement Attlee's interpreter.

PROFESSOR Walker alone opposes United States recognition of Peking under any conditions—his thought being that quarantine is the best way to "change" or ruin the regime. Chinese communism is "based on war" and cannot honestly accept coexistence or survive under conditions of peace. Its leaders are already "corrupt" and must "fail" to satisfy "individual" Chinese aspirations, he tells us. The United States should oppose them by supporting "more desirable" alternatives elsewhere in Asia. "Chinese can see no hope for the future," he quotes a former British missionary in gloomy conclusion, "except the third world war." He infers that this is what the population of China (unique among men!) now prays for. But "the costs" make this "an almost impossible choice." That is why we may merely try to penalize and isolate China to make its leaders "change" and become more like us. Statistically comprehensive, Professor Walker's book explains practically everything—except what makes Chinese Communists.

If George Gale, correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian,* presents fewer figures, he does group them in more human and viable tableaus. In reporting on foreign lands

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there is still no substitute for seeing them, and to an intelligent eye even a week of observation may be worth a hundred books. Gale had the immense advantage of speaking with people who actually live and work in China, including many Europeans. He hates the Communist regimes, and the whole necessity of coexistence. As an Englishman and a Cambridge product, he admits being "fastidious" about his associates and he simply does not wish to "draw closer" to Russia or China. The more we do so the more we are "infected" by what they suffer from. But his personal bias is carefully excluded from these conclusions—which he believes even "the British colony of Shanghai" would "not dispute." He states:

> I have no doubt whatsoever that in many respects China is a better place now than it was under the Kuomintang. And I have no doubts, either, that most Chinese certainly think so. Very great improvements have been made. . . . China has taken to Communist dictatorship like a lost man to a signpost. . . . The government is popular. Communism is popular. The government works, and if that means a dictatorship, so be it. China is used to dictatorships and this one is the people's dictatorship. . . . I met hundreds of Chinese and there are hundreds of millions. I do not know what they think about communism but I suspect that those who think anything at all about it like it; all of them, that is, except the 1.64 per cent who are deprived of their political rights by edict. For the rest, things are better; and if you count yourself lucky to have a cotton quilt for winter and a bowl of rice to eat when you are hungry then things are what you are interested in.
>
> I do not like the new regime of China but what counts is that the Chinese do; and no regime on earth seems to me . . . more stable than it and less likely to be swept away by internal disaffection. I think also that the new regime will succeed in its program of industrialization. It will have to. Its rulers know that.

Messrs. Rostow and Hatch, writing from their Cambridge, are of a different opinion. They consider China a "serious threat" to "United States interests." They argue that we can never recognize China's claim to Formosa, where our present protectorate must be maintained at least until the burden can be shifted to our allies or the U. N. in some form permanently guaranteeing separation. In Formosa they see "a focus for Free China" to "powerfully advance United States' interests in Asia."

Convinced that Chinese Reds are more interested in "expansion abroad" than in realizing their own former "revolutionary aspirations" at home, they predict that when this "expansionist dream" is blocked by us then Chinese communism will "change." Peking is advised that the Sino-Soviet alliance is the "wrong way" for China and so is the "party line." Both must be abandoned, and will be, "at some future time." Whether what would then follow would necessarily be any more agreeable to "United States interests" is not a question to trouble these authors. They are confident that "the Chinese people" will finally choose what is good for them from among the various "alternatives" which Americans are even now preparing for non-Communist Asia.

"We are in the midst of a climactic battle. We must keep our faith as we plan the peaceful courses of American policy." These "peaceful courses" must range from "all-out atomic warfare to guerrilla and even lesser local subversive operations"—as well as major economic intervention. This is a "dangerous period" in Asia, it is conceded—like "the United States in 1848" and like "Japan in 1868." Peking is engaged in a "ruthless" effort to industrialize China and is "taking much greater short-run risks" than communism did in Russia. Therein, we are told, lies our opportunity.

Because of China's addiction to the "wrong way" the Rostow-Hatch program demands prompt demonstration in non-Communist Asia of the "right way" to industrialize. They want us greatly to increase economic aid there; to encourage regional planning as a means of solving Japan's "trade problem and growth problems"; to "acknowledge (our) unavoidable responsibility" for reorganizing Formosa as a "constructive element in the Free World coalition," and to place our Asian policy on an anti-Communist basis "for decades if necessary."

"By and large" our federal government should "invest" 1.3 billion dollars a year in Asia—aside from spending for military purposes—and let our allies put up a balance of "about .07 billion"—which we might have to advance to them. This is not only anti-Communist altruism; it is insurance for economic stability at home. For we have an all-time surplus. "Normally our national output increases by 14 billions" a year and we are now embarrassed with "a margin of about 30 billions in unused (industrial) capacity." Thus we can save India and the rest of Asia at the same time we keep down unemployment here. If we do all these things then there is "every probability" that our British allies will "stop wooing Peking from Moscow," agree to help us hold Formosa, curtail trade with Red China, and exclude Peking from the U. N. indefinitely.

LORD LINDSAY, who speaks for an influential sector of British opinion and enjoys the respect of British Asia experts, would scarcely concur in the "every probability" mentioned above. He would look upon some of the Rostow-Hatch proposals as more aberrations in an American policy toward China and Asia which he regards as immature and "quite irrational." His complex and erudite book really aims at stating some general principles of a social philosophy adequate to the H-bomb era—and is much influenced by the thought of Keynes, Felix Kaufman, and K. R. Popper. But in so far as it deals explicitly with China today it notes a real "change in attitude" there which "allows contacts with and discussions with people able to explain the non-Communist point of view—the essential first step to better mutual understanding."

Secondly, ignorance in China about the outside world makes it uncertain "how far the subjectively sincere Chinese desire for better relations will produce an actual improvement." While "the situation is considerably more hopeful than it was at the beginning of 1954, there are still serious difficulties to be overcome." It must be "clearly demonstrated that the Western powers would welcome genuine peaceful coexistence and would much prefer to have friendly rather than hostile relations with China." But it must also be shown that everything depends on "practical actions and not on mere words" and that Chinese policy cannot succeed as long as "it continues to maintain doublethink positions and delusions about us."

"By continual demonstrations of hostility, by continued blocking of



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legitimate Chinese aspirations such as the U. N. seat, and by continued support for pin-pricking military attacks from Formosa, American policy directly helps to maintain . . . hysteria and delusions." And the embargo against trade, wherever it restricts exports to China more than to Eastern Europe, merely increases "Chinese dependence on the Soviet Union." On his return to China last year Lindsay concluded that doctrinaire devotion to "Marx-Leninist faith" was interfering much less with "rational action to benefit the Chinese people" than he had judged from afar. Chinese leadership was acting with "a great deal more intelligence and common sense" than he had supposed.

All in all, Lindsay thinks "China would be an exception to the proposition that no orthodox Communist government could survive a free election." And "for the next decade, at least," we "must allow for the continuance and growing strength of the present regime."

AMERICAN books written in the period of maximum cold-war crisis often overestimated the degree of our own ability to control external developments, and underestimated the massive influence on our fate of external events we did not will at all. Two great wars which added enormously to our wealth, industrial capacity, and military strength really "made" the United States, yet they were not made by us. The same wars bankrupted Europe, however, and the second wiped out nearly the entire labor-industrial product of the first generation under Russian communism. Obviously the immense difference between these consequences was an accident of time and space. Yet many cold-war political economists write under the assumption that a temporary geographical immunity which left our war-made prosperity intact somehow proved not just the relative superiority of our "economic system," but its absolute superiority. Naturally the same people cannot admit that the impact of Russia, Communist China, and European Marxism is everywhere implicit in the responses it provokes among us—including the very books we write to deny it.

Some of our anti-Marxist professors see the struggle as the Devil versus Virtue, and never the twain shall meet—just as good Stalinists do. They are shocked if anyone suggests that some present "alternatives" might never have been advanced by us had not the Communists shaken the old order out of its boots.

While busy "changing" and "mellowing" communism we are at the same time being modified *by* it. That is merely the old dialectical process at work—a respectable principle of historical change since Plato's time. But curiously among authors reviewed here it is only John Scott, of Mr. Luce's *Time-Life*, who takes note of it. When the long-term results of the "climactic struggle" are examined, he thinks, "perhaps the twentieth century will find its Golden Mean in between the ideas of the October Revolution and those of the world's [anti-Communist] free peoples." He declares:

> During the past thirty-seven years, serious modifications have taken place on both sides. . . . The Bolsheviks have restored the family as the basic economic and sociological unit of their society, renounced equalitarianism for a complex and highly differentiated incentive system, and adopted patterns and institutions in education, architecture, music, and arts far more conservative than many of those accepted in the West. The West, on the other hand, also changed. Certain elements of . . . planned economy have become accepted throughout the West. . . . A recent economist's conference in Boston reported that if our economic organizations of a generation ago were taken as 0 and socialism as 100 our present system would be 56.

Unfortunately our approach to this Golden Mean in economics and administration is often obscured by the dichotomy of power which exists between ourselves and the Soviet government. Two strong powers cannot control the same area at the same time. Each tends today to emphasize the difference between the two systems in order to maintain the purity and simplicity of its own position and force those in-between off the fence. Each tends to blame the "enemy" for everything that goes wrong and to cover up its own inadequacies. But any objective student of history can today see the Golden Mean taking form in the field of economics and administration.

That is perhaps as good a text as any for opening the new epoch of cold peace—and hot competition. And Devil take the hindmost!

# Everywhere South

*A HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO THE PRESENT.* By Hubert Herring. Alfred A. Knopf. $8.75.

**By Carleton Beals**

THE AMERICAN public has been emotionally drained for so long by international crises and imminent threats of atomic war that it has scarcely had the energy or interest to notice what the less "sensitive" areas of the world are like or what is happening there. This mental isolationism in an era of new and expanding world power has been especially marked in the case of Latin America. The exuberant, costly wartime goodwill efforts were mostly terminated officially right after the war, with corresponding resentments to the south, where many countries had made more serious contributions and sacrifices than Americans realized. The southern nations were largely ignored in the making of postwar plans. The Marshall Plan gave them no direct help but affected them tremendously—and in many ways adversely. This official back-turning was accompanied by a sudden drying up of interest on the part of the reading public; numerous inter-American publications folded.

Therefore, a special value now attaches to Hubert Herring's 800-page history of Latin America. It is a pretty formidable dose for the average reader. But for those wishing to be properly informed about political events, ancient and modern, in that complex area, it is the most comprehensive presentation yet attempted in English. Its reliability need not be questioned. Emerging from Protestant sectarian circles, Dr. Herring has devoted most of his energies from 1926 on to the Latin American field. His book, therefore, benefits from a background of thirty years of travel, intensive study, and

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ever-expanding knowledge. He is one of our foremost commentators on Latin American affairs and for ten years has been teaching the subject at Claremont and Pomona Colleges.

The book is obviously designed as a college text and follows the conventional and somewhat dreary pattern of political history with somewhat inadequate consideration of economic and social forces or cultural contributions. But Dr. Herring has aimed also at the general reader—and the quality of the writing gains from that fact. The best section is the first, on background; these chapters are more rewarding than the ins and outs of revolutions that often seem meaningless unless properly posed against more basic social, cultural, and racial conflicts.

AS A potential textbook, this volume pretty much soft-pedals controversial difficulties. Dr. Herring's consideration of the church issue is inadequate. The whole meaning of the Juarez reform and the later conflict in the Calles era is blurred over. However, the author is staunchly on the liberal side; he does not like imperialism or dictatorships and, with due caution, he manages to criticize United States interventions and dollar diplomacy.

In covering such a vast panorama and so many countries, Dr. Herring has been able to give only the sketchiest treatment to contemporary events. In this area the vigorous writing of which he is so capable does not lift its head, and one gets little feeling for the epoch-making changes that have swept the Latin American world since the outbreak of World War II. But the book does have the praiseworthy quality of avoiding current propaganda headlines, as in the case of Argentina and Guatemala, or at least tones them down to more reasonable language, though not always with entire accuracy or complete awareness of their meaning.

Political histories are rarely profound, but Dr. Herring's volume is head and shoulders above most writing of this type. Minor criticisms aside, it is the best and most complete history—except for books on individual countries—yet to be written in the English language. He deserves unstinted praise for handling his complicated theme so lucidly.

# Russia As It Is—Or Isn't

*THE INTERREGNUM, 1923-1924.* Volume IV of "A History of Soviet Russia." By Edward Hallett Carr. The Macmillan Company. $5.

*RITUAL OF LIQUIDATION.* The Case of the Moscow Trials. By Nathan Leites and Elsa Bernaut. Free Press. $6.50.

*THE ORIGIN OF THE COMMUNIST AUTOCRACY.* Political Opposition in the Soviet State—First Phase, 1917-1922. By Leonard Schapiro. Published for the London School of Economics and Political Science by Harvard University Press. $7.

*COMMUNISM AND THE RUSSIAN PEASANT.* By Herbert S. Dinerstein. *MOSCOW IN CRISIS.* By Leon Goure and Herbert S. Dinerstein. Free Press. $4.50.

*ADMIRAL AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA.* By William H. Standley and Arthur A. Ageton. Henry Regnery Company. $6.

*THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 1917.* A Personal Record of N. N. Sukhanov. Edited, Abridged, and Translated by Joel Carmichael from Zapiski O Revolutsii. Oxford University Press. $10.

*NINE SOVIET PORTRAITS.* By Raymond A. Bauer with the Assistance of Edward Wasiolek. Published Jointly by the Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley and Sons. $3.95.

*FACE OF A VICTIM.* By Elizabeth Lermolo. Translated from the Russian by I. D. W. Talmadge. Harper and Brothers. $3.75.

**By Mark Gayn**

SINCE last fall I have read some forty books on the Soviet Union. When I think back on them now, I can name only two or three likely to survive the season and perhaps half a dozen others that might be remembered for their shortcomings if not for their merits. Again, as in the past few years, the cream of the crop comes from political scientists in England. In this country the lists continue to be dominated by memoirs, with their overtones of missionary zeal, high emotion, and, at times, questionable fact. The difference in the approach is not easy to explain. Why, for instance, is it possible to produce in this country outstanding studies of Red China—such, for example, as Benjamin I. Schwartz's distinguished "Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao"—but almost none of Red Russia? Does some of the blame rest with those American publishers who select the sensational in preference to the thoughtful and the dispassionate? Should Moscow's own mania for secrecy be blamed for the kind of rubbish put out in this country by alleged Russian eyewitnesses and their American ghost writers? (In 1953-54, the Moscow monthly, *Questions of History"* carried a number of articles attacking the barriers of secrecy and red tape which kept Soviet scholars from government archives in general, and from the old files of MVD in particular.) Or should the ultimate blame for the general mediocrity of American books on the Soviet problem be put on the fear and uncertainty that have become woven into the fabric of our intellectual life?

Apart from Isaac Deutscher with his brilliant biography of Trotsky, it is again Professor Carr who supplies one of the season's notable works. It is not only that his latest volume combines his customary lucidity and historical imagination with a staggering amount of research. It is also that if he ever completes his "History of Soviet Russia" he will have produced a monumental work that will influence historians for decades to come. The opening volume of Professor Carr's study appeared in 1950. At that time he intended to devote altogether two volumes to the 1917-28 period—no more, say, than Louis Fischer had done in his memorable "Soviet Russia in World Affairs." But the deeper Professor Carr probed into his sources the less he was inclined to "condense." Last year's "Interregum"—the fourth volume of the series—has only reached that fragment of time in 1923-24 when Lenin was out of politics with a stroke and his many heirs awaited his recovery, or death. The author now indicates that he will require two more volumes to carry his story to 1928,

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under the general title of "Socialism in One Country."

The material on the Soviet revolution available to the Western student is enormous. But research is worth little unless it is spiced with imagination and perception. In the hands of Mr. Leites and Dr. Bernaut, for instance, the material somehow remains a shapeless mass of quotations. Professor Carr, on the other hand, not only weaves it into a fascinating story but also binds it to the history of our own days. Who, for instance, can read his account of the Kremlin's half-hearted effort to organize an armed putsch in Germany in 1923—and in the process indicate readiness to surrender the about-to-be communized Prussia to fascist Poland—without linking it to Moscow's present complex maneuvers in that country? And who could read the intricate story of government-by-committee at the Kremlin of 1923-24 without wondering about the "collective leadership" at the Kremlin of 1955?

MR. SCHAPIRO'S work covers some of the terrain studied by Professor Carr. It seeks to be the story of "political opposition to Lenin" and "the history of the Bolsheviks and their opponents." This is a worthy subject, and Mr. Schapiro brings to it a great deal of rare material on Russian revolutionary parties other than the Bolshevik. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Schapiro carries a political chip on his shoulder. He wishes to tell his story "without the distorting Marxist framework," and he proclaims himself to be a man who likes the "established legal order" and "a minimum of government compulsion." This is a commendable political and moral platform, but the picture the author sees from its heights often seems unreal. The Bolsheviks may well have been "a handful of adventurers," but if they were, Mr. Schapiro fails to show convincingly why they had been able to destroy their rivals, who admittedly did much less to disturb "the established legal order." In general, can the history of 1917-23 be told in terms of political opposition to Lenin—who himself was at times overruled by his party colleagues? Can the story of the Russian Revolution be recorded in terms of personalities rather than in those of class conflict? And can *any* revolution be evaluated in terms of the established legal or moral code?

One of the season's better books originating in this country includes two studies in Soviet controls—one in the villages, the other in Moscow in the fall of 1941. The volume is a product of the United States air force research project carried out by the Rand Corporation. It may be wondered why the air force should finance studies of, say, the mechanics of Soviet purges or the administrative problems of a Russian *kolkhoz*—unless it be that its interests and ambitions have become truly global. Some of the Rand books represent pseudo-scholarly wastage. This, however, is not true of the Dinerstein-Goure studies. So voluminous is the detail presented by Mr. Dinerstein that his Soviet village comes alive, with its peasants, tractor drivers, bureaucrats, and party overseers. The job is done with detachment, skill, and lack of pretentiousness. The same qualities are displayed in the Dinerstein-Goure report on that period in October, 1941, when most of high party and even NKVD officials had been evacuated from Moscow, and the general public suddenly found itself free of the accustomed police and political controls. Based largely on interviews with Russians and Americans who were in Moscow that month, the study portrays the apathy, confusion, and even sporadic lawlessness that prevailed until the Kremlin again picked up the reins. The authors conclude: "The fact remains that at the height of the crisis the majority of the population of Moscow did not rebel against their rulers. And, on the basis of available evidence, they had no intention of doing so."

SO MUCH for the scholarly books. The most interesting of the season's memoirs, to my mind, is that of Admiral Standley, who served as United States ambassador in Moscow in 1942-43. The book does not help to clear up the old mystery of why the admiral was chosen for this crucial post despite his age—he was nearing seventy—his limited diplomatic experience, and his even more limited knowledge of the complexities of Communist theory and practice. ("Communism," he writes, "is a religion of the devil; it is a distillation of evil; it is the very anti-Christ. We will never be safe from this evil faith until it is driven back to the hell from which it came.")

Yet if the admiral seems out of his depth when he deals with theory, he does add to the record of President Roosevelt's inexplicable errors. The Soviet Union was our most important wartime ally. None the less, relations with it were conducted haphazardly, with no continuity of policy or even simple administrative efficiency. From the outset Admiral Standley found himself bypassed by a horde of special American envoys who seemed to have the authority to negotiate directly with Stalin and who often did not even bother to tell the ambassador of their mission. Within the embassy the admiral fought the lend-lease representative, Brigadier General Phillip Faymonville. Outside it, he found himself warring with a succession of visitors, from Joseph E. Davies and General James H. Burns to Wendell Willkie. All in all, a minor fragment of history, a lively book, and perhaps an unwitting demonstration that good admirals do not necessarily good ambassadors make.

SUKHANOV'S memoir—skilfully edited and condensed by Mr. Carmichael, a one-time *Nation* correspondent in Germany—is something else. A veteran Russian Socialist, a tireless diarist, and a man of endless curiosity, Sukhanov watched and faithfully recorded the course of the Russian Revolution. Although he sometimes sat in the inner revolutionary councils, Sukhanov at all times seemed to be more interested in observing than in doing. The result is what is perhaps the best eyewitness account of those eventful years. In 1925, when I first read it, Sukhanov's memoir was still in wide use in the Soviet Union. But soon afterward the gap between his observations and the "official" party history became too obvious to be ignored; the book was banned, and in 1931 Sukhanov himself was put on trial on charges of treason. The book is highly recommended to anyone interested in an undoctored Russian account of the revolution.

Dr. Bauer's "Nine Soviet Portraits" is an attempt to use fictional techniques to portray "typical" Soviet people—from a housewife to an NKVD agent. The "portraits" are based partly on interviews with So-



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viet escapees, partly on anti-Communist material available in this country. The author deserves praise for his attempt to make the Russians and their daily problems of survival comprehensible to the American reader. But unfortunately Dr. Bauer's literary skills do not match the demands presented by a study of this type. When an agent of the secret police "promotes" chickens from a farm, or thinks of telling his bosses to "shove it," or starts "dripping saliva from his thick lips" as he whips a prisoner, he belongs to a Mickey Spillane epic rather than a serious political and psychological study.

As for Elizabeth Lermolo's story, it defies classification. What it asks of its readers is to believe that a woman exiled to northern Russia as a "counter-revolutionary" can—through innocent involvement in the Kirov affair—become privy to most if not all dark Kremlin secrets. Charged with being an accomplice of Kirov's assassin, Mrs. Lermolo is interrogated personally by Stalin; she learns in prison that Stalin himself had organized Kirov's murder; in prison too she sees Zinoviev and Kamenev quarreling with a man who testified against them; she meets Lenin's chef, who confides in her that in his dying moments Lenin had thrust into the chef's hands a message, reading "I've been poisoned . . . tell Trotsky . . ."; she meets a woman who saw Stalin murder his wife, and another woman whose niece had been picked for Stalin's mistress, etc., etc. Eugene Lyons, who read the book, observes that this is "the kind of inside information that only the doomed dare talk about." Here is one reader who can't buy it.

# A Montage of Film-Making

*CINEMAGES.* Nos. 1-5. Edited by Gideon Bachmann. The Group for Film Study. By subscription $3 a year for six issues.

**By Vernon Young**

GOOD talk about any art is rare; about film and film-making it is an echo heard in a petrified forest. That is why these publications, unevenly organized but arduously compiled and bravely mimeographed, serve a larger purpose than their contingent one of accompanying the G. F. S. screenings of films by great directors. The five numbers already issued comprise a loose-leaf and lively assortment of *obiter dicta,* eyewitness anecdotes, formal interpretations (reprints as well as assigned material), and biographical indices pertaining to the work and times of Griffith, von Stroheim, Murnau, Epstein, Pudovkin, Dreyer, Pabst and Bunuel. Subsequent copies will expound "The Dawn of the American Screen" and credos of experimental film-makers.

LEAFING through the assembled pages I had the agreeable sense of witnessing a social montage of the crucial years of film-making, between 1915 and 1935 especially, and largely in Europe. The contributors—many of them writers and technicians closely associated with the subjects of their discourse—have not only recounted in detail the careers of outstanding directors but presented tellingly the social and political background against which the "newest" art struggled to enunciate its terms. The effect is of a newsreel, chronologically relaxed, unfurling simultaneously with the dialogue.

The numbers devoted to the late Jean Epstein and G. W. Pabst have particular immediacy. Since most of the historians and critics of Epstein are French, and since the French remain the most lucid analysts of the cinema, the reader is given a rewarding view of this unjustly neglected artist. From 1922 to 1947 this protean yet incisive genius of the film, whose range took in romance, fantasy, realism, and the documentary, advanced from style to style, always surprising his admirers, refusing to capitalize on momentary successes. In 1947 he underlined his fabulous achievements with the last of his obsessive seascapes, "Le Tempestaire," filmed with slow-motion sound. (G. F. S. members have seen one sequence of this film; a complete print awaits general distribution.) Epstein's own definitions of the cinematic art, many of them quoted in "Cinemages 2," are perhaps the most perceptive ever written.

A half-dozen genial voices summarize the very different career of G. W. Pabst, the Bohemian-born director of such famous movies as "The Joyless Street," "The Love of Jeanne Ney," "Kameradschaft," and "The Threepenny Opera." They deal with his early development as an actor and stage director before World War I, the prodigality of his film output after 1923, his never quite consummated marriage with the social-protest film, his controversial association with Bertolt Brecht, his ambiguous return to Austria in 1939, and his current reappearance as director of "The Last Act" (1955), a film on Hitler's final ten days soon to be shown here. All this, and much more, provides an informal history of film production more vivid than any impersonal record of the period could be. It reminds those who have perhaps forgotten it that movie-making is a *craft* whose greatest practitioners have always fought to keep it from being big business and resisted the pressures of patronage, economic stringency, fashion, and political cur-

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# Communism in the United States

*DIGEST OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OF COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES. Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States.* The Fund for the Republic. No Price.

Designed to encourage the serious study of communism in the United States, these two volumes should prove invaluable to students. The first volume contains digests of the most significant legislation, committee proceedings, judicial and executive actions pertaining to communism in the United States. An annotated bibliography comprises the second volume and lists virtually all articles and books relating to American communism since 1919, as well as a selected list of publications dealing with the ideology, communism in other countries, and Communist periodicals. In addition to these two volumes, the fund has also made available microfilm copies of the papers and testimony in twenty-three trials involving communism over the past twenty-five years.



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rents—a craft that once was more adventurous and experimental than now, not only in technique but in subject matter, seeking to restate in fresh terms for a new audience the dreams and predicaments of man.

Seymour Stern in his amplified monograph on "The Birth of a Nation," an essay in fanatical devotion, is often shrill in his denunciation of anyone who would do less than his own notion of justice to the accomplishments of Griffith, that magnificent tactician and spiritual vulgarian. There are not a few other instances of heated partisanship in these pages, but they are refreshing through their very enthusiasm.

If Mr. Bachmann continues to publish these symposiums, either in the present format or in one more substantial, it is to be hoped that he will distinguish more sharply between a variety of coherent viewpoints and mere variety. "Cinemages," by inviting participation from those who know the craft as makers or viewers and are anxious to rescue its principles from the vacuity of the average press notices, could serve as a round table of film criticism in this country. Talk is good when those talking share certain assumptions concerning the role of intelligence, imagination, and goodwill. On the subject of movies we have never had enough of such talk.

# Selected New Books

## Fiction

THE GOOD SHEPHERD. By C. S. Forester. Little, Brown. $3.95. Suspense and sentiment in a pastiche of a war book thick enough to cloy the mind. The hero is a pious naval Babbitt incapable of either heroism or true despair. Mr. Forester has drifted perilously close to a burlesque of his own fiction, if not to outright blasphemy.

THE TWO TOWERS. By J. R. R. Tolkien. Houghton Mifflin Company. $5. Part two of a delightful trilogy, the fantastic story of a world as real as the imagination. Readers who enjoy provocative fantasy will want to own this handsome volume.

THE VIRGINIA EXILES. By Virginia Gray Vining. Lippincott. $3.95. A neatly effective account of Quakers driven into exile during the American Revolution because of failure to sign loyalty oaths. Miss Vining does not belabor her point, but there is clear application to current problems.

NOBLE IN SEASON. By Phyllis Bentley. Macmillan. $3.50. A pretentious novel by Miss Bentley, set once again in the Yorkshire country of England. The clinical story told by the author-narrator is pedantic rather than perceptive; rhetoric and generalizations make this a stilted, foggy book.

THE LAST TEMPTATION. By Joseph Viertel. Simon and Schuster. $3.95. Survival, escape, and disaster in a thoughtful novel reaching from Vienna to Israel. Mr. Viertel closely examines the abuses of power in a new nation even while affirming its dream of freedom; his book will disturb romantic conceptions of the establishment of Israel.

STANLEY COOPERMAN

## Belles Lettres

THE BROKEN CISTERN. By Bonamy Dobree. Indiana. $3. Suggesting that the gap between poetry and the public is partly due to contemporary poets' concern with arcane subjects, Professor Dobree examines the frequent appearance in poetry of three themes of common universal interest: stoicism, scientism, and patriotism. He concludes that poets may be able to establish a relationship with a broader public by treating "public themes" of general interest, and the many examples he quotes from classical and English literature show that these subjects have been made into magnificent poetry in the past.

WINTER NOTES ON SUMMER IMPRESSIONS. By Feodor M. Dostoevsky. Criterion. $2.75. These hitherto untranslated travel notes show that even while he toured France and England, Dostoevsky thought primarily of Russia. The social and political life of Western Europe seemed to his ironic eye a meaningless pageant of pompous and curious futilities.

NIGHTMARES OF EMINENT PERSONS AND OTHER STORIES. By Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster. $3. Lord Russell's satires are diagrammatic; fleshless in themselves, but amusingly meaningful in their reference to such modern shibboleths as existentialism, psychoanalysis, spiritual self-help, and automation.

JACOB KORG

# Records

## B. H. Haggin

A DOUBT about record guides in general was expressed once by Jacques Barzun in a review: things had reached the point where "a man is an ass who thinks of going into a shop and using his own ears, long or short, in selecting a disc." This doesn't take into account the realities of record-buying that cause people to depend on record reviews, and the fact that they are much the same realities as cause people to depend on reviews of books and plays.

The first reality is the many record-buyers whose ears cannot tell even an agreeable sound from an unpleasant one. Is it better for them to make their own choices, or to hear the good sound, the good music, the performances chosen for them by someone else, with the possibility that sufficient experience of the good may in time produce an ability to distinguish it from the bad?

And what now of the man who *can* tell good from bad on records—as he can in books and plays? He doesn't read every published book or see every produced play for himself, but makes use of the judgment of someone else—someone with the special powers of perception and judgment of the protessional reader of books or observer of plays—the critic. Not that he passively lets his mind be made up for him by the critic; he tests the critic's evaluation with his own experience of the book or play; and he reads the critics whose judgments have been confirmed by his own experience in the past. So with music; and with records there is the additional reality that even today, and even in big cities, there are very few shops in which someone with judgment of his own can try records on a phonograph good enough for him to form dependable opinions about what is on the records; while in a country town the shop may not even have

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the records to try. In this situation he must depend on the professional listener to tell him at the very least whether the performance is reproduced with agreeable or with strident sound, and to give him at the very least similar factual information about the performance itself—that the voice is steady, full, warm, lustrous, or is tremulous, thin, cold, acidulous; that the inflection of phrase is powerful or delicate, is simple or intricate, gives the phrase a coherently proportioned or a distorted shape; that the performance moves flowingly or haltingly. Here musical judgment begins to be involved; and record reviews are depended on for evaluation of what is on the records, as well as for information.

These are the needs a record guide is intended to satisfy; and the reviewer must examine it to see how it does what it is supposed to do. Thus, concerning Philip L. Miller's "The Guide to Long-Playing Records: Vocal Music" (Knopf, $4.50) a reviewer must report that it gives the reader no warning about the high-frequency distortion on Victor's dubbings of the pre-war "Rosenkavalier" and Glyndebourne Festival "Figaro," "Cosi," and "Don Giovanni"—especially foul on side 1 of "Don Giovanni" and in the Marschallin's Monologue and third-act trio of "Rosenkavalier." Miller is a musically educated writer who studied singing and should be dependable on that subject; but his statement that Reining, the Marschallin of the London "Rosenkavalier," "though past the first bloom of her sweetly lyrical voice, is magnificent when the range of the music does not tax her" doesn't tell the reader of the actual pallid, quavering voice on the records. He is similarly uninformed of Hopf's shockingly deteriorated voice in the Bayreuth "Meistersinger" and Moedl's tremulous shrillness in the "Parsifal"; and is told nothing about the poor woodwinds of the Bayreuth orchestra, the poorly balanced reproduction of the "Parsifal," the recorded sound of the "Meistersinger," coarse, unclean in definition, unclear in contrapuntal texture, enveloped in a hash of high-frequency distortion near the centers of the records. The statement about de Sabata's "clean musicianship" in a performance of Verdi's Requiem in which "Verdi's indications as to expression and dynamics are respected, though the singers are allowed to spread themselves within the bounds of good taste" doesn't inform the reader of de Sabata's stretching out of much of the music with excessively slow tempos that disregard Verdi's metronome markings, of his fussing with dynamics and phrasing, of Schwarzkopf's contribution of *her* fussing, pouting, whispering, and gasping, of di Stefano's sobbing in the *Ingemisco*. And the statement that the Columbia records show Muzio's "artistry at its top" doesn't inform the reader of the constant swelling and contracting of vocal sound that is Muzio's singing on those records except in the "Otello" duets.

THE reader may not only acquire the bad but miss the good. On the one hand "a nicely paced production typical of the better-grade present-day Italian opera stage" gives him an incorrect idea of a "Traviata" in which the conductor follows where the singers' self-indulgence leads; on the other hand the statement that in "the much-heralded Toscanini recording" the singers "have little chance, led through their arias at such a pace. In the good old Italian tradition they want to spread themselves in their big moments, but the conductor keeps them strictly in line" gives incorrect impressions not only of the pacing of the performance, but of the nature of that "good old Italian tradition" and of Toscanini's violation of it. The Toscanini "Otello" is described as "one of the supreme examples of [his] clarity and mastery"; but from the statement "perhaps because of the influence of the clock, the interpretation, from the opening crash and tempest to the final collapse of the Moor on his sword, has an almost unbearable drive and nervous vitality" the reader will imagine Toscanini driving through the four acts like a bulldozer. And "hers is not the gift of simplicity" is only one of the references to Steber that do not correctly inform the reader about her singing.

In addition it is astonishing to see what he is and is not informed of: he is told about Zenatello, Russ, Reining, but not about the London Tebaldi recital, the Scala record of Schipa, the Deccas with Lotte Lehmann's early operatic recordings, including the *Komm', Hoffnung* from "Fidelio."

From my sampling of the book's guidance, of which I have reported only a small part, I would conclude: not recommended.


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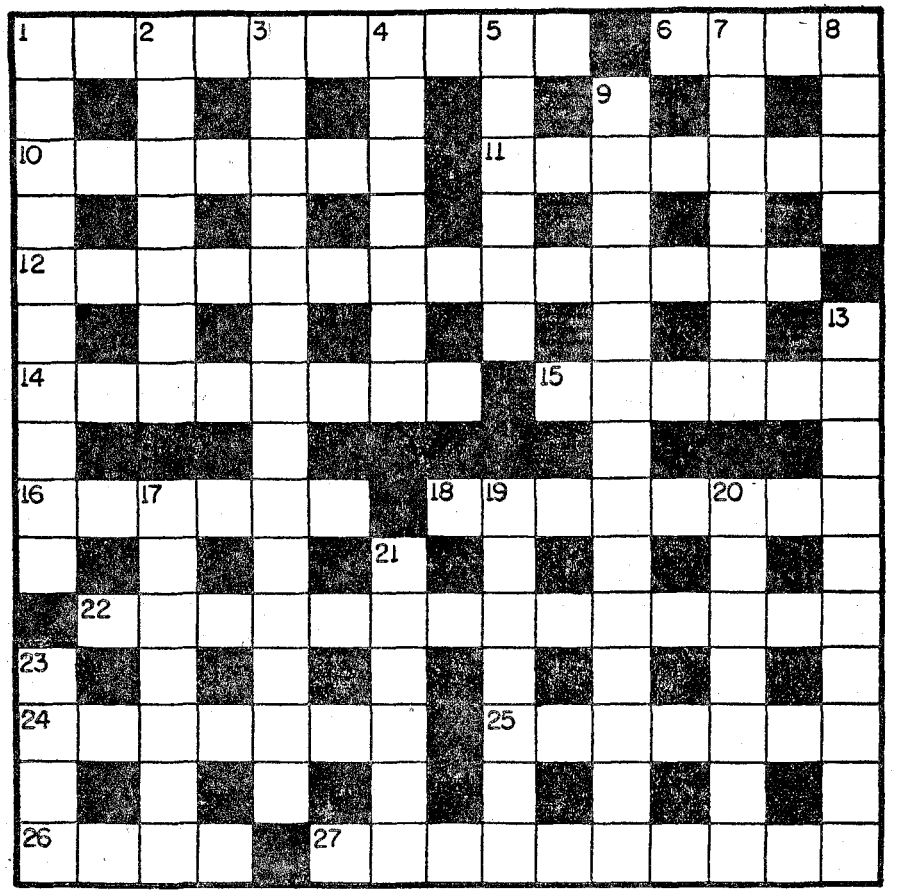
# Crossword Puzzle No. 637

## BY FRANK W. LEWIS



### ACROSS

1 Hurry up with the carriages—the force may be there, but not apparently. (5,5)

6 See 5 down

10 It might be good to outlaw profit. (7)

11 Give at last, but give all. (7)

12 Official position with the captain and his craft. (14)

14 Henry in a little car on a little boat. (8)

15 Plot. (6)

16 To get intense might sound like this. (6)

18 What Key saw behaved like a gallant one. (8)

22 With a close look? (14)

24 Get back in the middle of something. (7)

25 You're likely to 26 things which are. (7)

26 Equivalent to 5,280 feet. (4)

27 A portion's a penny when growing up! (10)

### DOWN

1 Nautilus, generically speaking? (10)

2 "A" is a street in Paris, if you care to look it up. (7)

3 How to call for a killing? (4,1,3,6)

4 Sound the dinner bell and sit down to eat! (5,2)

5 and 6 across You might, but some just salt and butter it. (10)

7 A rider shouldn't get on so, though there might be a different penalty on the line. (7)

8 Just average, when it comes to working. (4)

9 Hack saws? (5,9)

13 Fed up? (May get confused and tear around, but that's the way to pay expenses!) (10)

17 Coleridge's were gleaming. (7)

19 Pull successfully, like part of F. D. R.'s team. (7)

20 Bearer's assistant. (7)

21 Send to port. (6)

23 Proving it isn't always the best which rises to the top. (4)

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 636

ACROSS: 1 EDUCATIONAL; 9 and 25 URSA MINOR; 10 and 8 PILEDRIVERS; 11 SHIN; 12 CAP-A-PIE; 13 STAMPED; 15 STRIDENT; 16 ROBUST; 18 CAPERS; 24 ADAMANT; 26 HELICAL; 28 IRON; 29 IDLES; 30 and 19 HIGH AND DRY; 31 ARTLESSNESS. DOWN: 2 DRAMANINE; 3 and 21 CAPTIVE AUDIENCE; 4 TOLD; 5 OLDSTER; 6 ASSAM; 7 BRYANT; 14 STRAP; 17 BLEMISHES; 20 SUNDIAL; 22 DRESSEN; 23 CHARGE; 27 PLUS.

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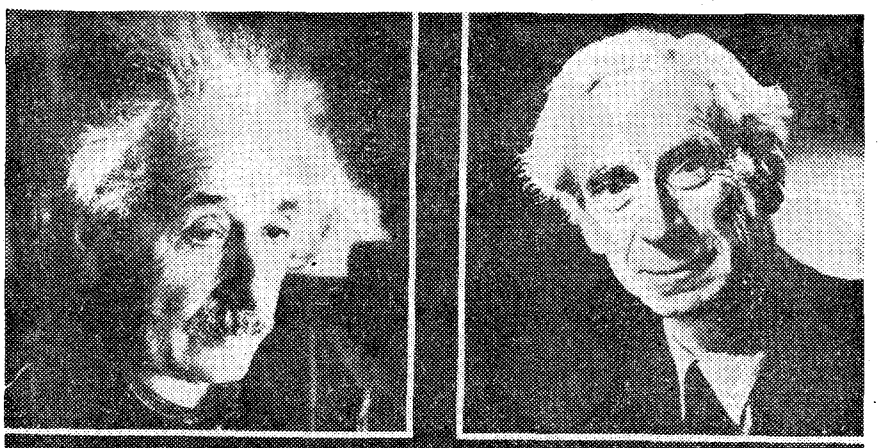


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